

[Published by request.]
ADDRESS
Before the "Hannibal City Liquor Law Reform Association," Sept. 6, 1853. By O. C. CARR.

What brings together to-night this assembly? Of whom is this meeting composed? Plaintiffs in a cause brought before the Supreme Court of the Sovereign People; and witnesses of the evil against which complaint is made—the evidence positive. These meetings are of solemn importance, and should be viewed and treated as such.

We are accused of assaulting the rights and liberties of others. Our accusation against our opponents is, that without propriety or sufficient reason, they support and sustain a great public evil. These two parties, I am entirely willing to believe, are honest in the maintenance of their several positions. I question no man's motives in this matter. My neighbor's heart is a sealed book which I cannot read.

I never had time to read law, but once, some four or five years ago, when I happened to have nothing else to do, I glanced over an old copy of Blackstone's Commentaries, that was lying about the house, and I think I have a correct recollection of some of the universally admitted principles laid down in that book.

The article in the "Courier" of last week, headed "The Force Law," I am convinced that no lawyer would. A lawyer would have known that there is no such thing as law without force. Law is that rule of action dictated by some superior, and which the inferior is bound to obey. Anything falling short of this definition is not law. Further, among "the eternal, immutable laws of good and evil, to which the Creator himself, in all his dispensations, conforms, and which he has enabled human reason to discover, so far as they are necessary for the conduct of human actions, are these principles: that we should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render to every one his due; to which three general precepts," says Blackstone, "Justinian has reduced the whole doctrine of law." You see, then, that you shall "hurt nobody" is one of "the eternal, immutable laws of good and evil," which form the foundation of all laws; and that all laws are "force laws."

Does the liquor traffic hurt anybody? Liquor excites the passions, and overthrows reason. It is the cause of most of the quarrels between men; it hardens the heart, deadens the conscience, alienates parent and child, divorces husband and wife, produces riot, disorder and bloodshed, and nerves the hand of the malicious or covetous murderer. It injuriously affects the prosperity of whole communities, thus making the innocent suffer for the guilty. When a man commits murder he is removed forever from society, to prevent the recurrence of a similar act by himself, and as a warning to others. It is thus the law of human bodies; but more destructive spirits in jugs and bottles and glasses are permitted with impunity to create public inconvenience, public mischief and private injury; to prostrate health, destroy life, waste property, blast character, and blight reputation. Ruthless and inhuman, this law-sustained tyrant draws his recruits from every family circle; sacrifices the noblest from every fireside; and fills every graveyard with his slain. He enters happy families, where abide plenty and contentment, and turns the place into a hell. On hill-top and in the valley, on mountain and plain, the foot of the destroyer has marked his path, like Suez's "Wandering Jew," with cholera and pest in his path! But in this city the bloody traffic is passing to its end. Here we boldly assert that "government has a right to interfere with any man's business, whose business interferes with the public good." At the November election it will be proved that the people of this city maintain the doctrine that the individual man must not get rich at the expense of the property and lives of the community.

Blackstone tells us that "all property is derived from society, being one of those civil rights which are conferred upon individuals, in exchange for that degree of natural freedom which every man must sacrifice when he enters into social communities;" and that this is the true reason and substantial ground of forfeitures for offences against law. Every man in society is considered to have entered into a contract of association by which he gives up certain natural rights and liberties in exchange for those benefits and privileges which society confers. There is scarcely a calling in society which is not under the supervision of law, and limited and restrained by it. There is a limit even to the boasted freedom of the press. Lascivious publications or prints in newspapers or books, or libels, usually draw the punishment of law on the head of the offender. The editor of the "Police Gazette" had to fly the State of New York to avoid imprisonment on account of his publications; Cooper gained a verdict every trial from Webb, of the "Inquirer," for libelous editorials published in relation to his novels. The same principle runs through all law, everywhere, that individuals shall not produce public inconvenience, public mischief, or private injury. In most markets, if a man offers to sell light-weight butter, he forfeits it; a man is punished if he undertakes to sell meat from a diseased animal. In a word, freedom, properly defined, is not unbridled licentiousness; not the privilege of doing whatever a man pleases, regardless of the welfare of others; but "liberty, rightly understood, consists in the power of doing whatever the laws permit;" and it has always been considered that the laws ought not to permit that to be done which is a source of public inconvenience, public mischief, or private injury.

To command what is right and prohibit

what is wrong," is the business of the law-maker. The United States Government does not allow liquor to be sold to Indians, because it produces mischief; our State laws do not allow liquor to be sold to negroes for their own use. Here are two cases of mischief arising from the liquor traffic, where the law steps in and prohibits the liquor dealer from exercising his calling. If this is not an invasion of his rights, why may not the law go further, and prohibit him from working mischief among white people? Is the welfare of white people in this country worth less than that of negroes and savages?

Our citizens are not allowed to use disturbing language in the streets, or to gallop a horse through the principal streets; and many other ordinances are passed, restraining individual freedom for the public good, in fulfillment of the city's duty, as far as her power extends, to guard the interests and happiness of her people; yet a greater evil than all is sustained by nations, strong moneyed interests and personal friendships, and not by any natural right or intrinsic merit of its own.

A pretended objection is raised, that the suppression of the liquor traffic is an attempt to regulate men's diet by law. This bacon and cabbage view of the question we do not think is worth a serious answer; for the very persons who make this objection are perfectly well aware that the opponents of the liquor traffic are actuated by a consideration of its social evils.

It is said, that while engaged in reformation, the work will be incomplete unless you can restrain men from chewing tobacco and smoking cigars. This is as if a man with the cholera had a corn on his toe, and you were to refuse to give him medicine for the cholera till you had cured his corn! "Do one thing at a time," is the golden rule for business. The man who attempts too many things at once usually succeeds in accomplishing nothing. Tobacco don't kill people, or bring ruin and distress upon families; and if our law-makers will redress glaring, prominent, destructive evils, we can afford to excuse them from meddling with some others that are of infinitely less importance. The lovers of tobacco need hardly take alarm at the demonstrations against the liquor traffic.

People often tell us that they confess freely that intemperance is a great evil, but that it can never be banished, and broadly assert, but without giving any reliable authority, which they cannot do, that all attempts to suppress the liquor traffic by law have entirely failed; that there is more drinking in Maine and other States which have adopted prohibitory laws than there was before their adoption; that drinking is done in a secret, underground manner, and that men "drink for spite!" If it is driven into secret places, it will soon become disgraceful in a greater or less degree in the estimation of public opinion; and when that is the case, respectable men will not be in danger of becoming drunkards, and the sooner those who "drink for spite" kill themselves, the better it will be for the community in which they live. So that if the evil is driven out of sight, where it cannot tempt the unstable and unwary, it is a great good accomplished. We have seen the most favorable accounts from Vermont, of the operation of the Maine Liquor Law in that State. The Mayor of Portland, Me., in answer to a letter of inquiry from a gentleman of Cincinnati, (who is in favor of a prohibitory law in Ohio) as to the operation of the Maine liquor law, writes as follows:

CITY OF PORTLAND, }
MAYOR'S OFFICE, Aug. 12, 1853.
Dear Sir: The liquor law has been and is still enforced in this city. We have no public drinking houses or shops where liquor is publicly sold, and our city is very quiet. But few cases of intemperance are seen, and cases of crime before our last court were much less than for some years previous. Liquor can be purchased freely in our neighboring State, New Hampshire, and in the city of Boston. Any of our citizens can purchase there and take it to their houses for use, but not for sale. I have no doubt there is much drinking in private, which the law cannot and does not attempt to control. So far as meets the public eye, there has been a very great improvement in our city under the operation of the law.

Yours, &c., JAMES B. CARROLL, Mayor.

Prof. E. Pond, of the Bangor, Me., Theological Seminary, in answer to the question, "What effect has the law already produced?" says:—"It has put an end to rum-selling for drinking purposes, except in the lowest places, and in the most private, sneaking, contemptible way. It has greatly diminished drunkenness. I have not seen a drunken man in our streets for the last six months. At this season of the year with all our lumbermen from the woods, our Irish and Indians, I have not seen one intoxicated. The law has made our streets quiet through the night. Very few, comparatively, get into the watch-house. The House of Correction has been at times almost empty; I know not but it is so now. The expense of paupers is greatly diminished; also the expense of litigation. Hundreds of thousands throughout the State, who but for the law had been miserable drunkards, and whose homes had been the abode of the extreme wretchedness, are now industrious, sober citizens, and their families are living in comparative comfort."

The Detroit, Michigan, Tribune says, "It has been a source of universal remark that the Fourth of July was never known to pass off in this city as quietly and with as little 'noise and confusion,' rioting and drunkenness, as did Monday last. The beneficial influences of the Maine Law appear to be working in advance, and we are pleased to be able to record the fact that there were not half a dozen drunken men seen about the streets on the Fourth. Law and order prevailed throughout the day, and when the large crowd that had flocked into the city from all parts of the country, is taken into consideration, the universal sobriety that characterized the whole celebration is remarkable, and augurs well for the upholding of the liquor law."

I am not quoting these testimonials for the

purpose of upholding the Maine Liquor Law, but to show that it is possible to effect a vast amount of good by the operation of law, and deducing the conclusion that if law can effect so much in these States, why should an ordinance in Hannibal be expected to increase the amount of liquor drinking? Why may it not be expected with more reason that it will very much diminish the amount of drinking, and force the little there is to hide itself from public gaze like a guilty criminal? But if it will really increase the amount of traffic in liquors, why do liquor dealers so vehemently oppose the ordinance? If they could sell more, and that too, without paying any license, their own interest should lead them to petition for the ordinance. Some liquor sellers in Maine impoverished themselves, and actually became bankrupts, by their determined efforts to oppose the law; yet all the time the cry was raised, or at least it is raised here, that laws to suppress the liquor traffic only increase the evil. The New York Herald, the most scandalous, unscrupulous sheet in America, has busied itself with publishing false reports of the effects of the Maine Liquor Law, and these have circulated faster than the truth. Several towns in this State have succeeded in suppressing the liquor traffic. I believe Fulton is among the number; I am certain that New London is. You cannot find a more peaceable, quiet town than New London. It is said that there is now more drinking now in Palmyra than before the attempt to suppress it. I have heard this denied, but granting that it is so, who is prepared to assert that any efforts are made in Palmyra to enforce the law? Perhaps they are like the people of Boston, who have the law but do not try to enforce it. We intend to have officers in this city who will perform their duty in this matter.

But we are happily able to produce still more conclusive testimony that prohibitory laws do not increase the evils attendant upon the liquor traffic. In a communication of Neal Dow, Mayor of Portland, to the citizens of that town, dated September, 1851, he says:

There were in our Alms-house, June 2, 1851, (the law was approved on that day) one hundred and sixteen persons; on the first Monday of August there were eighty-five, and on the 1st Monday of September, twenty-one.

The Maine Law was passed June 1st, 1851. From the Annual Report of the Mayor of Portland, March 25, 1852, we take the following:

"At the commencement of the year, I expressed the opinion that the construction of a new Alms-house establishment, to cost at least \$50,000, would be indispensable. * * * If the present course of policy shall be steadily persevered in, our alms-house will probably afford abundant and comfortable accommodation for all its inmates, until the city shall be three or four times as populous as it now is. * * * At the commencement of the year the number of open rumshops of all grades, in full operation, was supposed to be from 300 to 400; three hundred was its lowest estimate; at present there is not one. The receipts of these places per day, at the lowest figures, may be reckoned to average three dollars; this for 300 days, would give two hundred and seventy thousand dollars per year. * * * This amount will purchase 50,000 barrels of flour at \$5 each, or about five barrels of flour and five cords of wood to every family in the city, estimating the number of families at 4,000. * * * A great many families destitute a year since, are now comfortable and happy."

The following is taken from a report made at a meeting of the citizens of Bangor, in the City Hall, Nov. 14, 1851, on the operation of the Maine Temperance Law:

"We have obtained from the proper sources the following statistics, which will illustrate the matter in detail:

Commitment to the county jail, quarter ending: Sept. 30, 1851—Drunkenness, 12—Assault, 7
June 30, 1851 do do 11 do 5
Sept. 30, 1851 do do 3 do 5
Showing a difference in favor of this quarter of 6, as compared with the one previous, and of 11, as compared with the corresponding one last year.

Commitments to the city watch-house quarter ending: June 30, 1851 154 Cost \$558 80
Sept. 30, 1851 51 " 375 78

Difference in favor of this quarter 103 " \$183 07

Number of places where liquor is sold: Last spring 106 | At present 56

Showing a diminution of some 50 per cent. while the quantity sold is estimated to be reduced 75 per cent. Most of these are Irish dwellings of the lower class—which cannot be searched without express proof of sale—where liquor is kept in very small quantities.

Quantity of liquor seized and condemned, about 4,000 gallons, and a still larger amount reshipped to Boston.

The state of the streets and city, according to the City Marshal's statement, is "improved 75 per cent." as compared with the previous quarter.

As concerns pauperism, an overseer of the poor says: "The applications for aid, for the last three months, have not been half so numerous as the three preceding months. We understand that the extra help during haying on the City Farm is all hired. It has heretofore been performed by persons committed to the House of Correction for drunkenness, of whom there has never been a deficiency. The House of Correction is now empty."

The operation of the law will be to add some 400 or \$500 to the amount of the poll taxes of this city. In other words, it creates a body of some hundreds of new citizens, in place of an equal number of degraded and burdensome paupers, or of men who for charity's sake were spared the tax. * * *

[Do you hear that?—you who tell us that to suppress the liquor traffic will drive away trade, impoverish our treasury, and exclude population!]

Out-door expenses of the Pauper Establishment: Quarter ending June 30, 1850, 60 supported, \$500 16

Do. Sept. 30, 1850, 40 do. 406 43
Do. June 30, 1851, 49 do. 470 53
Do. Sept. 30, 1851, 28 do. 213 09

Showing a reduction of more than fifty per cent. for the last quarter, against twenty per cent. last year.

Expenses of Alms House, resulting from in-

temperance, in 1851:
Quarter ending June 30, \$161 65
Do. Sept. 30, 5 62
Showing a reduction of \$156 51, or ninety-seven per cent.

Cost of support of common drunkards in the House of Correction, for Penobscot county, in 1851:
Quarter ending June 30, \$147 84
Do. Sept. 30, 40 67
Showing a reduction of \$107 14, or 72 1-2 per cent.

We have the Marshal's testimony that "considerable improvement" is manifest in the condition of the temperate classes, and that the comforts of many families have been greatly augmented.

There are attached to the above report some arguments showing the comparative advantages of the Maine Liquor Law. These I omit, because I am not trying to show that the Maine Law is better than any other kind of liquor law, but merely that prohibitory laws diminish, instead of increasing the evils attendant upon the liquor traffic.

We are said to be leagued with the abolitionists. Last Wednesday an abolition convention assembled at Syracuse, New York, at which John Jay, John P. Hale, Senator Chase and Garrett Smith figured prominently. An attempt was made to engraft the Maine Liquor Law among their resolutions, but they voted the proposition down. The suppression of the liquor traffic is a principle by itself, which has never been, and probably will not be, engrafted into the platform of any party, whig, or democratic, or abolition, or free-soil, until it becomes very popular, as it is now in Ohio, where both whig and democratic candidates find it necessary to convince the people that they are sound Maine Law men.

It is said by some that the clause in our charter conferring the power to suppress the liquor traffic in this city is unconstitutional. It is well known that the United States Government itself prohibits effectually the sale of liquor to Indians, on account of the mischief it works among that people. But this is not all. Here are the opinions of several Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Chief Justice Taney said:

"If any State deems the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens, and calculated to produce idleness, vice and debauchery, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating and restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether if it thinks proper."

"Every State, therefore, may regulate its own internal traffic according to its own judgment, and upon its own views of the interest and well being of its citizens." (5 Howard, 537.)

If that does not prove that the Missouri Legislature had the right to insert the clause in our charter, giving the City Council the power to prohibit the traffic in liquor within the city limits, I stand ready to confess that I do not understand the English language.

Mr. Justice McLean said:

"If the foreign article be injurious to health or the morals of the community, a State may, in the exercise of that great and comprehensive police power which lies at the foundation of its prosperity, prohibit the sale of it." (5 Howard, 532.)

And in regard to the destruction of property, he said:

"The acknowledged police power of a State extends often to the destruction of property. A nuisance may be abated. Everything prejudicial to the health or morals of a city may be removed. Merchandise from a port where a contagious disease prevails, being liable to communicate disease, may be excluded; and in extreme cases, it may be thrown into the sea."

Now be kind enough to understand me. I do not quote this in advocacy of the Maine Liquor Law, but to show that the Missouri Legislature, so far from exceeding its power, has fallen short of its full exercise.

The following quotation seems, in very plain terms, to settle any difficulty that may be supposed to arise under the State Constitution. The mere right to license appears to carry with it a right to prohibit also.

Mr. Justice Catron said:

"I admit as inevitable, that if the State has the power of restraint by licenses to any extent, she has the discretionary power to judge of its limit, and may go the length of prohibiting it altogether, if such be its policy."

I have already made these remarks too lengthy, but I cannot avoid adding a few words more. We have noticed the ruin, destruction and death daily occurring under sanction of law. We have seen that the license law is written in blood; that law, linked hand in hand with disorder and crime, where it hangs one man for murder it kills a hundred more. With sorrow the friends of temperance have beheld the ravages of intemperance, and have tried to stem the fearful torrent. They first reasoned with the drunkard; they implored him, by every consideration of character, home, family and friends, to pause and consider. They called upon the moderate drinker, and warned him of the precipice upon which he was treading; and then with pain saw him, recklessly and heedlessly, and with fanatical desperation, rush into poverty, then to disgrace, and thence to the drunkard's grave. They saw all this day after day, and year after year, without remission or intermission. They thoroughly but vainly tried moral suasion. At last they appealed to the Legislature to stay this Niagara of woes that is pouring upon our heads. They gave us a prohibitory clause in our charter. Shall we not use it?

The mail is too late for our paper to-day.

New Orleans, Sept. 2.—Interments in Mobile 27, including 22 of fever. Interments in this city 110, of which 96 of fever; there are only 6 or 7 unacclimated persons remaining in the city.

On Wednesday, the 14th of this month, the Corner Stone of the new Christian University at Canton will be laid with appropriate ceremonies. President Shannon of the Missouri University and Elder Jacob Creeth, of Palmyra, will be present and deliver addresses. Hon. Lewis Cass, Hon. Edward Bates, and Mr. O. H. Browning, of Quincy, have also been invited to attend and address the public on the occasion. The "Columbians," among the sweetest singers in the country have promised to attend. Ample arrangements have been provided for the entertainment of strangers, and a general invitation is extended.

This college will be an imposing structure, situated on a beautiful eminence, about a mile from the river. It will be 120 feet front, including the wings, and the main building will be 120 feet deep.

Canton is handsomely situated; is a flourishing town, and is improving rapidly.

Which is now complete, embracing every article of French, Italian, German, Indian, English and American Goods, adapted to the Western Trade, which have been bought of Manufacturers and Importers, by an experienced buyer, with great care, and to the best possible advantage. As we are commencing with a view of remaining permanently in the Dry Goods business, we have selected the best grades of goods, latest and best approved makes and styles, and hope by selling them at uniform low prices, and on as accommodating terms, to attract notice and secure a large and permanent patronage.

As we intend buying a large portion of our goods for Cash, we shall be enabled and are determined at all times to offer more inducements to CASH BUYERS, who will find it greatly to their interest to give us a call before making their purchases.

It is our intention to keep constantly on hand a full and attractive assortment of

Cloths, Cassimeres, Vestings and Gentlemen's Wear generally, including many new styles, gotten up expressly for our sales. Our

DRESS GOODS DEPARTMENT Shall not be second to any in the City, and we promise to offer the best stock of WHITE GOODS

To be found in the market. Although a large portion of our stock is STAPLE, such as Brown and Bleached MUSLINS and DRILLINGS, OSNABURGS, DUCKS, TICKINGS, SHIRTING STIFFS, PRINTS, LINSEYS, TWEEDS, FLANNELS, BLANKETS, SATINETS, &c.; Still we shall keep for the convenience of our customers a general stock of

Fancy and Variety Goods, embracing every article desired for the city or country trade.

Having a resident buyer East, we shall be in constant receipt of fresh supplies, including the latest designs and patterns, as they are received by importers; and will keep our stock full and complete throughout the season. All orders shall have our prompt and careful attention, and be filled with desirable goods, at prices guaranteed satisfactory.

E. F. PITTMAN, } Late of the firm of Yeatman, Pittman & Co.
W. H. PITTMAN, }
St. Louis, August 24th, 1853.

PITTMAN & BROTHER.

714 and 716

NEW FIRM. 1853

Large Fall and Winter Importation.

PITTMAN & BROTHER,

(SUCCESSORS TO TEVIE, SONS & CO.)

Importers and Wholesale Dealers in

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC DRY GOODS,

97 MAIN STREET, ST. LOUIS, MO.

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New Firm.—The "Central Missouri" is the title of new paper, to be published weekly in the city of Hannibal, by Benjamin F. Davis. The paper will be independent in politics, and chiefly devoted to literature, temperance, miscellany and general intelligence. The first number will be issued this month. Price, one dollar and fifty cents, in advance. The editor was for some years past connected with the "South-Western Era," at Springfield, Mo.

The Daily News, an evening journal, issued at Newport, Ky., is essentially a family paper. It is edited and published by W. S. Baily, and every type that goes into its columns is set by its laughers. The little girls set type with great facility. The paper is got ready put to press and worked off by the family in a matter of course kind of way, just as the dishes are washed, or any other job of house-work performed.

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